2; Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

## CHAPTER TWO

# *Early Days*

"ARRIVED at Aden at 4 p.m. The place is not as I had expected and I found I had forgotten all about it. It looked just like a penal settlement and the nearer one got the more unprepossessing the place became"; such was the entry in my diary for October 4th, 1931.

It was the normal reaction of most people who see Aden from the deck of a ship at the tail end of the summer, and, like most people, I knew very little about the town, less about the Protectorate, and nothing at all about the history of the place.

The first authentic recorded mention of Aden is to be found in the Bible at the 23rd verse of the 27th Chapter of Ezekiel, where it is written: "Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur and Chilmad, were thy merchants." When I read this verse I was puzzled by the rendering of Aden as "Eden", and I consulted my Arabic version of the Scriptures and was reassured by finding that the word "Eden" was spelt in precisely the same way as it is written in Arabic today. If additional evidence of the identity of this "Eden" with Aden is required, it is to be found in the very next verse which runs as follows: "These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes . . ." The reference is to the indigo impregnated cloth which is still worn by very many of the inhabitants of the Protectorate and was a common sight in the Colony a few years ago.

The early history of Aden is difficult to piece together, consisting as it does of travellers' tales and records, some undoubtedly true, but others of dubious authenticity, but the one

## *Aden*

175
[312] That Aden still possessed some fine buildings even as late as 1710 we know from the record left by a French traveller who, after referring to the "handsome" aqueduct which had been built originally in 1500 to bring water into the town from Sheikh Othman ten miles away, and deploring the state of the fortifications, referred to the town in the following terms:

[342] "The city is still considerably large and one may still see
[349] several handsome houses two storeys high with flat roofs, but
[368] there is also an abundance of rubbish and ruins. It must be
[532] owned that there is nothing finer of its kind than the baths there. They are lined with marble or jasper and covered with a handsome dome, having a hole at the top to let in light, and adorned on the inside with galleries supported by magnificent pillars."[1]

178 There was no sign of this delightful place when I arrived,
368 nor were there any public baths, swimming or otherwise, until
346 twenty-four years later when I opened the handsome Municipal Swimming Bath in Holkat Bay, but by 1931 Aden was by no means in an "exigent condition of poverty and neglect". Far from it; it was a flourishing town, though all that remained of the ancient splendour was the tall white minaret in Crater overlooking what is now the Football Stadium. A lonely ghost from the past whose mosque has long since disappeared.

000 My disagreeable first impression remains with many travellers for the rest of their lives and the mere mention of the name Aden is sufficient to conjure up in their imaginations an exaggerated recollection of heat, haze and noise and, above all, a barrenness beyond belief.

312 In the early nineteen-thirties fresh water from wells in the village of Shcikh Othman had only recently been brought in to the main town and the population were still dependent mainly on condensed water for drinking purposes, and there was virtually no water at all for gardens or any other form of
000 cultivation. Only a few like myself succeeded in penetrating the haze and forgetting the lack of vegetation and the discomfort of prickly heat, as we became more and more absorbed with the people and their problems and travelled beyond the

[1] Dr. J. C. Young, *Ancient History of Aden*, 1923.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1 •
Yemen ML1



only the temporal head of that country but is the spiritual leader of the Zeidi sect, which is composed of those Shiahs who follow the teaching of Muhammed Ibn Zeid, an interpreter of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammed. The Imams trace their descent to Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and it is only of comparatively recent years that the Imamic leadership has changed in character from the primarily spiritual to the predominantly temporal, and even so, it has never lost the essential spiritual element.

The majority of the inhabitants of the Yemen are of the Sunni division of Islam and subscribe to the teachings of As Sha'afi, another renowned interpreter of the sayings of the Prophet. Thus successive Imams have maintained their temporal authority in their country with the aid of the religious minority, the tough Zeidi tribesmen of the Highlands. This they have done with remarkable success and even today the Sha'afi majority of the country have no real say in the government. From time to time the Sha'afis have striven to rid themselves of their Zeidi oppressors, but their success has never been more than temporary and partial and the Imams have, for their part, been quite ruthless in re-establishing their authority, and although they have had the prerogative of mercy it has seldom, if ever, been exercised. Politically and socially the Yemen has not advanced beyond the sixteenth century in Europe, and if one thinks for a moment about our own religious difficulties in this country at that period of history, it will not be difficult to understand the intense distrust which exists between the Zeidis and the Sha'afis, not only in the Yemen, but beyond the borders of that country in the Aden Protectorate where all the people are of the Sha'afi Sect of Islam. There you have the fundamental reason for the existence of the Aden Protectorate.

The Protectorate came into being by mutual agreement, and we were in effect invited to become the paramount power. It was not in any way the conquest of a primitive and defenceless people by an up-to-date Western power with modern armament. In 1839, when we had established ourselves in what is now the Colony of Aden, the tribes of the hinterland were,

184
[157]

*First Acquaintance with the Protectorate*

The people are, as I was quick to realise after I had seen and spoken to the tribesman at the Khormaksar races, independent and virile, and later I was to find that they did not lack a sense of humour. In the Highlands they dress, even to this day, in blue cotton kilts which reach to the knee, leaving the upper part of the body bare, except for the vegetable oil and blue dye with which they rub their skin as a protection against the sun in summer and the cold in winter. The kilt is held in place by a leather cartridge belt which in turn supports a dagger, generally with a silver scabbard. A rifle and a pair of leather sandals complete the picture, except in the Colony where rifles and daggers, except for the privileged few, have to be surrendered to authority on entrance, and may not be carried on the person. In the Colony, too, and indeed in the more developed areas of the Protectorate, the blue kilt has given place to brightly coloured kilts made from silk and cotton cloth imported from Indonesia and India, and the blue dye and oil have been replaced by shirts and coats, and indeed, by collars and ties and trousers when the owners have come to this country either on business or for pleasure.

[291]
[302]
[411]
177
178 •
291
439

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1
Yemen ML1



Y
648
643

more civilised the people became the more difficult would it be for him at some future date to impose his will upon them, and partly because he feared the reaction of the Sha'afi majority in the Yemen to the improvements which were manifest in the Protectorate and which contrasted sharply with conditions in their own country.

There was nothing new in the methods that the Imam used to interrupt progress in the Protectorate, which varied from promoting frontier raids and hiring assassins to formal protests to our diplomatic representative at Taiz, or directly through his Minister to the Foreign Office in London, claiming, as he did, that every new school and every new road which was opened in the Protectorate was a breach of what had come to be known as the *status quo* Article of the Treaty of 1934. You see, although the old Imam most certainly understood clearly that Article 3 of the Treaty of 1934 referred solely to the frontier position, his son chose to interpret the Article as referring to the whole of the Protectorate, thus to his understanding the *status quo* included any form of change, such as the Federation proposals as a major example, to the opening of a new school or dispensary as a minor example. He protested and protested, but these protests were the least of the troubles that this tiresome fellow contrived to create. In spite, however, of all his efforts progress did not come to an end and it continued, even when the rich diet of slander provided by the Egyptian radio propaganda caused some slight biliousness in the more settled and prosperous areas bordering on the Colony.

A
648
178
177

The Imam Ahmad was not the only critic of our Protectorate policy. There were others nearer home who, like all critics, became most vociferous when things were going badly. There were some who said that too much was being attempted, and others that too little was being done, and in the Protectorate itself there were a number of people who had misgivings every time there was a set-back, but fortunately the majority of the Rulers and their people realised that the task which had been undertaken could not be accomplished by a gentle stroll up the hill of progress. It was going to be a stiff, hard climb with very nearly as many downs as ups, but what mattered was not the

incident of travel but the overall progress that was made and that was, all things considered, reasonably satisfactory.

Progress throughout the area would have been more speedy and more spectacular if it had been possible to observe the old proverb in our dealings with some of the Rulers that "to spare the rod is to spoil the child". Children some of them were, and Teddy Boys were not lacking among their subjects, and while I agree that it is better whenever possible to lead children, there are times when even the most amiable child must be coerced in its own interest, and I have never faltered in my opinion that an ash plant, properly applied, is one of the few things that is effective in dealing with young thugs in this or any other country.

I think I can best give a general idea of the people of the Protectorate by describing briefly some of the journeys which I made to some of the States, and some of the people I met. These journeys are typical of what, during my term of office, were certainly monthly occurrences and for periods at a time were a weekly event. No one can hope to govern successfully unless he knows the people, and what is more important, they know him, so that whenever time allowed I toured formally and informally every part of the Protectorate, except Upper Yafa, to which neither I nor the Imam could gain access.

## DHALA

Shortly after I became Governor I decided to pay another visit to the Amirate of Dhala, and one morning I drove myself in my Land-Rover, accompanied by a few Government Guards, across the desert to Lahej and on through the Haushabi country up into the foothills of the Amirate. Just below the final ascent up to the Dhala tableland I was met by the Naib, or Deputy Ruler. He was not a very exciting-looking person, being under middle height, very thin and having some congenital infirmity which caused him to drag one foot, but however unprepossessing his outward appearance, there was no doubt about his stoutness of heart or his loyalty, and his ability to ride up and down the hills of his homeland was quite

491 others following the old, but all opening up the country and making possible better security and greater trade.

794 184 [178] At Yeshbum I stayed the night with a family of influential Saiyids. They were very pleasant people indeed on the surface, though the opening up of the country must have been disagreeable to all but the broad-minded among them, and Saiyids like other religious leaders, are not renowned for their broadness of mind. Inviolate as Saiyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammed, shrewd business men who lend money against property mortgages, educated among an ignorant people, and by tradition the mediators in family and tribal disputes, they were powerful people whose influence was bound to be affected adversely as contact with the outer world increased and education became effective. My host of the evening was Sheikh Ali Jifri, a charming elderly gentleman much afflicted with rheumatism, who was far-sighted enough to recognise the inevitable and to accept a change which he knew to be in the interests of the Aulaki people. Unfortunately, he died not long after my visit and his kindly influence was removed from his brother and his sons and nephews. They have always been difficult and resentful and have never really co-operated in the setting up of the Aulaki administration and have not used their influence in the right direction in the Council Chamber. [185] Political interests in the neighbourhood of Aden and in the Colony itself and the acquisition of agricultural land in the rich cotton areas, have been their pursuits. Nasser of Egypt is their idol and independence is their goal. What a pity learned students of religion cannot be content with the greatest of all occupations, the bringing of the word of God to the people of this tortured earth. The truth is that the false gods of wealth and power attract descendants of the Prophet in the same way as other people, for after all, they are but human.

184 The following day we drove up the Wadi Yeshbum to Said, the capital of the State beneath whose ancient towers I was to be greeted by the Amir, his brothers and the tribal leaders. [541] They were all ready for us where the Wadi broadens just below the town and they formed a procession, firing their rifles in the traditional manner, while their poets composed

241 Hundreds of years ago Aden
133 the value of these silt-laden seasonal floods was realised by the
312 people of the plain, and they initiated an elaborate irrigation
134 system, the remains of which exist to the present day. Years of
926 inter-tribal warfare which benefited no-one, brought the original system to ruin and the land went out of cultivation and the silt-laden waters rushed unimpeded headlong to the sea to discolour the ocean for many miles.

654 Hartley started with a modest capital of £10,000 granted
312 by His Majesty's Government for the purchase of seed grain
241 and for the hiring of bullocks to build dams and till the ground;
648 and with this modest sum he was able to bring 700 acres under
[926] cultivation. The tribes were loath to give up what had become their battle-field, and their silly futile squabbles interrupted Hartley's efforts until the patience of the Aden Government was exhausted and measures were taken to enforce security in the area.

648 Once the World War was over, food production was no
654 longer of paramount importance, and with the economic
248 future of the area in mind long staple Egyptian cotton cultiva-
• 178 tion was successfully introduced, and by an Administrative Order of my predecessor, an organisation known as the Abiyan Board was set up to manage the whole agricultural project. Additional capital to the extent of £270,000 was obtained as a loan from His Majesty's Government and there was rapid development, so that by the time I became Governor several thousand acres were under cotton cultivation. The Board directed the agricultural policy of the area, was responsible for pest control, owned and operated the heavy agricultural machinery necessary for the economic working of the land, owned and operated two cotton ginning factories, controlled the distribution of flood water through the irrigation canals and channels, and was responsible for the shipping and marketing of the cotton crop.

648 In spite of the changed circumstances of the Board they continued to function by virtue of the original Administrative Order. All efforts by my predecessor to regularise the position by persuading the Fadli and Lower Yafa States, within whose territories Abiyan is situated, to enact decrees failed owing to

245 camel from the high hills of the interior. Coffee will not grow below 4,000 ft. at the latitude of Aden and the Yemen.

244 Away to the east on the Audhali plateau and in the other
243 high regions, wheat and barley are cultivated by well water
312 irrigation from shallow wells, and apricot trees grow naturally
245 among the fields and grape vines run over the trees that border the grassy valleys. Much attention has been given to increasing the fruit cultivation and to the growing of tomatoes and other
[177] vegetables in the summer time when the low lying plains are far too hot. Plums and apples and peaches and walnuts have been introduced successfully, and lower down citrus culti-
262 vation has had surprisingly good results. Originally, of course,
178 the idea was that these fruits and vegetables would be available
433 to the Colony markets and to a certain extent this has proved to be true, but no-one anticipated the extent to which local consumption of vegetables and fruit would increase in the
[177] Protectorate itself. It is extraordinary how quickly people will develop a taste for new varieties of vegetables, as I had found in Muscat when I first introduced cabbages. Nobody had seen them before and at first I had to give them away and persuade people to eat them, but it was not long before they came and helped themselves. It was much the same in the Protectorate with lettuce, which was looked upon with distrust when I first travelled to Loder and Mukeiras, but by the time I left twenty-five years later no meal was complete without a dish of salad.

243 Down in the plains the main crops are sorghum and bullrush
262 millet which grow throughout the Protectorate and provide the staple diet of the people who grind and pound the grain into coarse flour from which they make a very palatable un-
245 leavened bread. Where water is available in sufficient quantity
312 as at Lahej and in the Wadi Hadhrami, there are extensive
244 date-palm plantations and bananas, and other Eastern fruits are cultivated with particular emphasis on the melons which flourish abundantly and are of excellent quality.

241 Two things have handicapped agricultural development in
441 the Protectorate. The first of these is lack of money and the second lack of a suitable marketing organisation. The power to

652
648 bring if not plenty at least enough to the inhabitants, was pitifully small.

871 In all rural areas education seems to be of secondary importance to the inhabitants and the Aden Protectorate was no
• 178 exception to this rule. In 1931 there was scarcely a school to be found worthy of the name anywhere in the Protectorate outside the towns of Lahej and Mukalla. There were Koranic teachers in most of the villages and an elementary education in Arabic for those willing to pay was available in the larger towns from private tutors or the owners of small private schools.

[652] By 1956 there were one hundred and ten Primary Boys'
[648] Schools, five Primary Girls' Schools, and in addition there were six Intermediate Boys' Schools and one Lower Secondary School, and the States were contributing over £61,000 a year to the Protectorate Education Service while the United Kingdom contributed about £15,000. During the same year the Colony, with a population of 140,000, was spending £250,000 on their nineteen Primary Schools, ten Intermediate Schools and four Secondary Schools, including Aden College and the Technical Institute, but then they were well-to-do and it was their own money and they did not have to go cap in hand to the Treasury.

871 Still, in spite of everything, the progress was good and the
875 real problem in the Protectorate was not so much the lack of funds to build schools as lack of staff for the schools which had been built and were planned for the future. The Colony had not sufficient good men to staff their own schools and even if men had been available it would not have been possible to pay them an attractive wage without upsetting the wage scales

[648] of other State employees and thereby disturbing seriously the economy of the smaller States. Lahej had tried to solve the problem by importing Egyptian teachers, and they could only afford that luxury because the Egyptian Government subsidised this form of propaganda. It was not a policy that any sensible person would advocate, and I was convinced that the Sultan would one day regret bitterly that these political missionaries were ever imported.

The Quaiti State had been able to draw on the Sudan for

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



teachers to supplement and to train local talent and theirs was a happy choice, but unfortunately when men were wanted for States in the Western Protectorate no more were available. The Sudan could use every competent teacher in her own schools and was disinclined to release men for us even if they had been prepared to come, which was improbable.

The only solution was to make the most of local talent and this was done by Teacher Training Classes organised by the Director of Education in the Colony. The scheme is working well, but the demand for more and more men grows annually as that infectious disease, education, spreads rapidly through the whole of the Protectorate.

I am not writing a textbook and therefore I must keep away from figures as much as possible, but a few cold and concrete facts can often tell a story more clearly than pages of literary effort. This is so in the case of the Health Service. Twenty-five years ago nothing had been done and no real effort was made until after the World War. In 1956 there were five hospitals with a total of one hundred and ten beds, two of which were also Health Service Training Centres, and fifty-five Health Units or Dispensaries, as well as three Mission Clinics, and the States were spending at the rate of £28,000 a year compared with the United Kingdom contribution of £33,000 a year. I am afraid it does not sound very much, but it was in fact a tremendous advance. It sounds pitifully small when one realises that at the same time the Colony was spending £250,000 a year on their Health Service, to say nothing of the "Queen Elizabeth II" Hospital which will probably cost a million and a half pounds before it is completed. In fairness, however, it must be stated that the Colony Hospital was open to serious cases from the Protectorate just as the Aden College and Technical Institute had special facilities for Protectorate boys.

For many years the only medical assistance and treatment that the Protectorate people could obtain was from the Medical Officers of the Royal Air Force, and only then if they were close to a landing ground, and from the staff of the Keith Falconer Mission Hospital at Sheikh Othman who were always willing to travel into the Protectorate to care for the sick. Then

*Aden*

743
178 a few years ago there came into being the Protectorate Health Service which owes much to Dr. N.L. Corkill, M.M., M.S.M., M.D., who came with me to Al Qara. Health Units have been built on standardised lines in all the States where they did not previously exist; and from money contributed by the Fadli and Lower Yafa States, a hospital has been built on the boundary between these two States in a central, though rather wind-swept, position reasonably easy of access to the people of the Abiyan plain. In Mukalla there is another hospital and up in the Wadi Hadhramaut are two small hospitals at Shibam and Saiyun.

759 The Health Assistants are trained in simple medicine and hygiene at the Fadli-Yafa hospital or in Mukalla and then go to one of the Health Units where, not only do they attend to surgery patients, but also tour the neighbouring villages and are responsible for reporting any outbreak of an infectious disease that may come to their notice to their headquarters in Aden or Mukalla, depending on which part of the Protectorate they are serving.

744
164 Anti-malarial measures and Public Health work are also the responsibility of the Health Service and the decrease in the incidence of malaria and other mosquito and fly-borne diseases since the inception of the Service, is remarkable. At the same time and within the limits imposed by inadequate staff, attention is being paid to the general health of school children with particular emphasis on diseases of the eye. With adequate funds and personnel it would be possible if not to eliminate completely so to reduce trachoma that impaired vision and blindness from this cause would be a rarity rather than, as it still is today, all too common.

743
648 Today, as in the past, the Royal Air Force is always ready to fly Medical Officers into the Protectorate to deal with casualties in inter-tribal scrimmages or to attend to the desperately ill who are beyond the reach or the capacity of the Health Assistants, and there are many tribesmen and women who owe their lives to the Royal Air Force. Stretcher cases from the remotest areas are flown to hospital in Aden and no call for help is ever unanswered because the sender was too humble or

new displacing the old is an inevitable process and provided it is done at a reasonable pace need not be disturbing and is often imperceptible. It is the speed of change which matters, and that is what caused the trouble in the Protectorate. In England the change from horse-drawn transport to motor transport took twenty years or more and there was ample time for readjustment. In Aden it took as many days from the time a new major road was open to motor traffic, and the unemployed camel men sat nursing their rifles and wondering how to prevent their animals and themselves from starving. It was not long before they noticed the weapon in their hands and commenced to use it to drive the lorries off the roads. The State and Political Authorities intervened before too much damage was done and negotiations resulted in agreements which restricted the use of lorries to named kinds of merchandise, and so time was gained for readjustment.

The Eastern Aden Protectorate was more affected than the Western by road development and on more than one occasion troops had to be used to persuade the camel men and their friends to be sensible and not to interfere with the lorry traffic which might have had very serious consequences. The Wadi Hadhramaut, that vast cut through the limestone plateau of the Jöl filled with palm groves and white-walled towns, peopled by the most astute and the hardest business men in the world, was subject to droughts which twice in living memory had led to famine: the reason for this had been that the whole irrigation system depended on the availability of bullocks to draw water from the shallow wells and when, during the droughts, the corn crops had failed, the animals had either to be fed on seed grain or be left to die of starvation; in the former case it meant that when the rains did come, there was no seed to sow, in the latter that there were no animals to draw water. The solution was to eliminate the dependence on bullocks and make available to farmers and date garden owners small diesel pumps with which to irrigate their land. They paid cash for the pumps if they could, or if they couldn't they put down a deposit and paid the balance in monthly instalments. A maintenance service, based on a central workshop, which had been set

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



up at Saiyun by the Quaiti and Kathiri States, was provided and was controlled by one of Hugh Boustead's young men. Diesel oil was essential for the pumps and it had to be brought from the coast at Mukalla by lorry, and so it was that the camel men, however disgruntled they might be, must not be allowed to damage the roads or impede the oil lorries.

The pump scheme was supplemented by grain stores set up in the main towns and larger villages and regularly inspected to ensure that the grain had been properly rotated. At each harvest new grain was bought and the old grain sold, thus keeping the stocks fresh. Mercifully all went well with the rainfall during my tour of duty and we did not have to put our anti-famine measures to the test.

I cannot leave the subject of development without making a brief reference to the political side. In most States in the Western area of the Protectorate the old form of complete autocratic government has given place to government by the Ruler with the advice of a Council, and in some States the next stage of development of Councils with executive powers has been reached, while in Lahej there is the further refinement of a Legislative Council. Generally speaking these Western innovations where they exist are only in the kindergarten stage and the Ruler is still the central figure upon whose personality the Government of the State really depends. For instance, there is one important State which has no Council at all, but a very able Ruler who governs justly and firmly and whose finances are in a sound condition; while another and larger State has the whole façade of modern governmental institutions but a Ruler whose real interests are elsewhere and his people do not fare so well and the State's finances would mystify the most astute of accountants. The personality of the Ruler is still of paramount importance, but change is coming swiftly.

In the Eastern area the main progress has been made in the centre, where in the Quaiti and Kathiri States administrations have been firmly established and even Town Councils are functioning with reasonable efficiency. These States have been lucky in having Rulers who had the good sense to pay heed to their able advisers. In the two outlying States, the Wahidi

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



642
643
178 on the western side and the Sultanate of Qishen and Socotra on the eastern side, there is rather a different story to tell. The young Wahidi Sultan inherited a country riven by feuds and only recently has any real degree of security prevailed; but he is working on the right lines and has made creditable progress. In Qishen the wild tribesmen wander over their barren desert ranges and sand dunes with their camels and their goats following the all too scarce rain. Oil-survey parties have come to their country and they eye them uneasily, not knowing quite what to make of tractors and caravans, but willing enough to earn money when the opportunity offers and the work is not too strenuous. Down on the coast the Sultan's relatives in the seaboard villages play a Capulet and Montague game in their own Mahra dialect, which they alone can understand, while the Sultan himself, who is inclined to be a recluse, sits in the mountains of his island of Socotra 300 miles away across the sea off the Horn of Africa.

648 While these internal changes have been taking place there has been a change or development in the treaty relations of the major States with Her Majesty's Government. The fundamental agreements, the original protection treaties, have remained unchanged, but these States have entered into an additional treaty of an advisory nature. The Rulers have agreed to accept the Advice of Her Majesty's Government conveyed through the Governor in regard to matters to the benefit of their people and States, and we have undertaken to aid them, in particular, in the economic field, to the best of our ability. These "advisory" treaties are of recent origin and must not be confused, as they often are, with the basic protection treaties, all of which, with one very minor exception, were entered into between 1839 and 1914.

I have seen it suggested that some Rulers were coerced into agreeing to conclude "Advisory" agreements. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were entered into willingly and with full understanding of the obligations on both sides. I can make this statement from my personal knowledge. Far from pressure being used the reverse was the case. In one particular instance I refused to discuss the matter at all with the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



Another most important factor is education, that menace in the East to tradition, which continues to expand in the Protectorate with ever-increasing speed and threatens to destroy completely the old system before something better can be introduced, and all the while the oil survey parties move to and fro. If oil is found there can be but one result. The economic brake on political development will be released and the pressure for change will increase until a really dangerous situation has arisen unless the future has been carefully planned. It is obvious, therefore, and has been for some time, that the present political structure is rapidly becoming out-of-date and cannot continue in this rapidly changing world without danger to the peace and security of the whole area. The problem was, and still is, how best to guide political development into more liberal channels and, if possible, at the same time to improve the economy of the area: the question is how to weld the States together in a powerful, essentially democratic, political and economic entity without disturbing more than necessary the traditional ties between the people and their Rulers and ourselves and both. To put it another way would be to say how to achieve in a few short years what we in this country have taken several hundred years to accomplish. In my view the only answer to this difficult problem was, and is, federation or the gradual joining together of the States into a compact whole, due consideration being given to unequal development in individual States.

I had thought about Federation long before there seemed any possibility that one day I would become Governor, but I was not the first person to put the idea down on paper. The credit for this belongs to Mr. G. K. N. Trevaskis, O.B.E., the Adviser for the Western Protectorate who drafted a scheme for Federation while I was still full of ideas and nothing very concrete. This scheme was discussed by me with my advisers at length, and after alteration and amendment it went to London as a definite proposal. It was approved by the Secretary of State and I was authorised to explain my views to the Rulers and obtain their reactions. Let me state here and now that I am proud of my share in the Federation proposal, in

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



642
648
178

spite of the very free and adverse criticism by people far removed from the scene of action and out of touch with recent events in the Protectorate who do not think that it is appropriate or workable. One critic, however, was a notable exception to the general rule and he was in the closest touch; I refer to the Imam of the Yemen, who objected strongly to the scheme for a very different reason. He was afraid that it would work.

642
178

The plan for Federation was simple and to start with envisaged two separate federal structures, one in the West and the other in the East. There were two reasons for this decision; they were—firstly, that generally speaking the standard of administration in the East was very much more advanced than in the West, and secondly, that the Eastern States had always tended to keep to themselves and not to have very much to do with the Western States.

It was proposed that the head of both the federal structures would be the High Commissioner for the Protectorate who would also be the Governor of the Colony. There would be a Council of Rulers in each of the federal areas whose meetings, as a full Council, owing to distance and the preoccupation of members with the affairs of their own States, would probably be few and far between, but each of whom would depute three of their number to represent the full Council as a Working Committee. These Working Committees would be empowered to make decisions on behalf of their Councils and would meet at frequent intervals. It was probable that in the Eastern Federation the Working Committee of the Council of Rulers would, in fact, be the full Council, because it was considered that the Sultanate of Qishen and Socotra had not reached a degree of administrative development which would justify its immediate inclusion in the Federation. It was also proposed to leave out the small village State of Bir Ali because it was really too insignificant to be worthy of serious consideration.

After this novel feature of a Council of Rulers for each area, the pattern became more normal with Executive and Legislative Councils in each federal area whose members would

642
178 be nominated in the first instance. It was realised that eventually the members of the Legislative Councils would be elected, but when precisely that major step forward would be justified would depend on a number of things, not the least of which would be the degree of responsibility shown by the members themselves.

In the beginning it was the intention to make the Federal Authorities responsible only for customs, communications, education and public health; services which lent themselves to central control and which were, with the exception of customs, already subject to a certain degree of direction by advice. It was not intended at this juncture that the Federal Authorities would interfere in any other way with the independent internal authority of the States. When the Federations became firmly established and the advantages of federal control more generally understood, more and more subjects would be transferred to federal control. It was to be a gradual process.

652
648 The Protectorate is a deficit area and, excluding the cost of defence services, costs the British taxpayer about £800,000 a year. This sum includes, among other things, the cost of the Government Guards and the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion and subventions to States to help them maintain their own internal security forces and in certain cases to aid them with the development of State Administrations. It is not really a very large sum being probably less than one pound her head of population a year, but it was clearly undesirable to increase the British taxpayer's burden unnecessarily. Therefore, the financing of the federal scheme was of primary importance. The centralisation of the customs service was an economic measure which would result not only in a saving in administrative and collection costs, but would make practicable the levy of import and export dues on goods entering and leaving the Protectorate. The saving in administrative cost is obvious when it is realised that one reasonably efficient centrally controlled organisation would replace twenty-five separate organisations, only three or four of which could be described as reasonably efficient. The object of the exercise was not to deprive individual States of their principal source of income and bring them even closer

642
652
648

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

# *Labour Relations in the Colony*

466

ONE of the problems with which I had to deal and the one which I, personally, found the most difficult and more of a strain than all the bickerings and scufflings in the Protectorate and the continual worry of strained relations with the Yemen, was labour relations in the Colony. To understand the problem a very brief sketch is essential of the history of labour from the time that we first arrived in Aden until the immediate post-war period.

175 563 464 167 The invaders of Aden in 1839 came from India and brought with them Indian clerks and a few Indian artisans, and they not unnaturally looked to India for their future supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour. The local Arab was, by Indian standards, totally uneducated and seemed unlikely to take kindly to education, even if it was worth while for some effort to be made in that direction. The local article being thought unworthy of serious consideration, the practice of importing artisans and clerks from India to meet the ever-expanding demand for such workers, became the normal method of recruitment. Gradually a tradition was built up that the Arab would never be capable of skilled work and that such work was an Indian prerogative. The Indians themselves, short-sightedly, did nothing to discourage the belief.

563 464 178 This dangerous state of affairs persisted until after the World War, partly because the Arabs remained uneducated and partly because the Indians were good workmen and their European masters did not wish for any change. Then the education of the Arabs was taken in hand seriously and they responded in a way which surprised even their most fervent champions. They

*Labour Relations in the Colony*

soon showed that they could be educated, that they were capable of doing more than just manual labour and that with understanding and encouragement there was very little that was beyond their capabilities. They began to resent the presence in their midst of an army of Indian clerks and artisans doing work which, not always with justification at that time, they considered they were capable of doing and which should be theirs by right. Unfortunately, this resentment was not confined to the Indian workers, but was directed as well against their European employers which did not make for happy racial or labour relations in the future.

The general condition of Arab labour in the Colony when I first came to know Aden in the nineteen-thirties can only be described as disgraceful. There were no superannuation benefits, and as wages left no margin between income and expenditure, nothing could be saved against old age and sickness. There were no holidays with pay, and most workers had to find their own living accommodation, and the vast majority received no medical treatment or benefit through their employers. Labour relations, as we now understand that term, did not exist. There was no form of consultation between master and man and the authority of the master was absolute.

Coal and cargo coolies were provided with accommodation; they were housed in long sheds, owned by the coaling and stevedoring companies, in grossly overcrowded conditions without any washing or sanitary arrangements, the nearby beach just across the main road served as a combined bath and lavatory. The owners never had the smallest idea who lived in these dormitories and what went on there after dark, which was probably just as well for their peace of mind in this town where women were closely guarded and youth was uncontrolled.

By the end of the World War no very great improvement in conditions was noticeable and the housing shortage, already acute, was rendered more so by a Town Planning Scheme which virtually paralysed all building operations for two years, and achieved little else except an impracticable scheme which was brought into force in a modified form and then,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



mercifully, abandoned. The post-war increase in Aden's trade brought more and more skilled and unskilled workers into the Colony, until the unsatisfactory overcrowding, at one time confined to the poorer elements of the population, had spread to white collared workers and highly skilled labour. Key money was illegal but no heed was paid to the law and very few houses changed tenants without it being given and taken in some form or other.

When I came to the Port Trust I set myself to improving the standard of living of the employees and modernising their terms of employment. Government also was striving to improve labour conditions, and in the nineteen-forties a minimum wage ordinance for unskilled daily paid workers passed the Legislative Council and became law. The problems of overtime rates, juvenile employment and maximum hours of work and many kindred subjects were studied and ordinances were drafted to provide very necessary legislation. At the same time a Housing Committee was set up under the Director of Public Works to tackle the housing shortage problem. Meanwhile we in the Port Trust decasualised as much of our labour as we could and Government followed suit with theirs, an example to business houses which they were in no hurry to follow. I introduced a families' medical scheme with a lady doctor in charge for Port Trust employees, which was immediately successful and which I have no doubt Government would have liked to have seen become Colony-wide; but it was not to be, there were too many difficulties. Some of the more enterprising commercial houses introduced superannuation schemes and medical benefit for their employees, and by 1954 annual leave on full pay had become the rule rather than the exception. It is extraordinary how quickly a lead is followed, and in a few short years after the war progress was made which in many countries has taken a life-time. The speed with which these concessions were granted upset the equilibrium of some workers who, anxious to make hay while the sun shone, began to demand more and more, well beyond their just entitlement, but on the whole labour behaved surprisingly well and there was only one serious industrial disagreement during this

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



period. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's bunkering and installation workers went on strike without serious consequences to anyone. Our really bad labour trouble was to come later.

Government set up a Labour and Welfare Department, and labour ordinances which had lain unenforced for years were brought into reality, much to the disgust of some factory owners whose premises were a danger to their employees and a disgrace to the Colony. So the progress went on, first one problem was tackled and then another, but I believe the working people derived most benefit from the housing schemes which were introduced. The Port Trust led the way in this field with a bold scheme to house the majority of their permanent labour force. I was glad to have been able to initiate that scheme, and I was even better pleased before I left Aden in 1956 to see completed the Government housing scheme at Ma'alla where 1,500 flats had been erected on a very modern housing estate planned primarily for Government employees. Even housing, like the measles, is catching and the major commercial undertakings followed the lead given them and it became usual rather than unusual for most permanent employees to be housed by their employers.

While all this building was going on in Tawahi and Crater, the outskirts of the Colony were not forgotten and Government erected over 1,000 houses at Sheikh Othman to relieve overcrowding.

This is not meant to be just a list of the achievements of Government and employers in the labour field, but an indication of the all-round efforts which were made in a comparatively short space of time to improve the working conditions and the housing of the workers in the Colony, especially those who were the least well provided for financially. All this activity, beneficial though it was, failed in one vital respect. Only in a few exceptional cases was there any real improvement in master and man relations. The employers remained out of touch with their men just when the closest co-operation and understanding was essential. They took little interest in their employees as individuals either inside the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

*Minority Communities and Political Development*

The Somalis, of whom there are thousands in the Colony, 563
are, generally speaking, of an arrogant disposition which does not make them any better loved by the Arabs who consider them to be socially inferior. They are good workers in the house or wherever they can sit down to the task, and taxis and launches suit their temperament admirably. They are becoming politically conscious and already have one Somali elected member in the Legislative Council. The Arabs have found that politically they are a force not to be underestimated.

All the real leaders of the communities have striven and continue to strive to improve racial relations and to engender in their followers a loyalty not to their individual race or tribe, but to Aden itself and encourage them to consider themselves primarily as citizens of Aden, as Adenese rather than as Arab, Jew, European, Indian, Pakistani or Somali. In this they have been reasonably successful and it is no longer uncommon for the leaders of the communities to join together as citizens of Aden to do honour to a distinguished guest.

So much for the human backcloth to the political development which took place during the five years of my term of office, and now for the economic wings and the stage is set.

In 1937, the year of the transfer from India to the control of 652
the Colonial Office, the income of the Colony was £140,000 178•
to meet the full cost of the administration, the police, medical and educational services and public works; there was no financial assistance in the form of a subvention from His Majesty's Government. Two years after emancipation came the World War, with the need for the strictest economy, a godsend to Aden financially as it enabled her not only to balance the annual budget but to put something aside against the day when development could be considered and new buildings for hospitals and schools would be practicable once more. By 1955 the Colony's annual income had reached the £4,000,000 mark and the latest Development Report bound in dark red, a rather menacing colour, and optimistically called "Development Plan 1955—60", shows that approximately £10,000,000 is being spent, or has been spent, on schools, hospitals, housing and all the normal social services. This figure does not include 600

648 This figure does not include Aden
652 the £4,000,000 which was obtained from Her Majesty's
• 178 Government in the form of an Exchequer Loan at 4½ per cent. for thirty years, to provide administration services and roads at Bureikha, services necessitated by the £45,000,000 Refinery and the £7,000,000 harbour with alongside berths for the great crude oil tankers completed by the B.P. Company in 1953. The finance for Colony development has been found from local Aden Government resources to the extent of £5,000,000 and a further £1,300,000 has been raised on the London Market, while the British Government has contributed £450,000 and a further £150,000 has been earmarked for a specific item, from the Exchequer Loan. The balance required to complete the programme amounts to some £3,000,000 and it is proposed, under the Development Plan, to raise a further loan of £3,500,000 in London.

652 I give these figures, not because I have the least desire to
178 compile anything in the nature of a statistical account, but
[871] because they give in brief a clear indication of the expansion economically of the Colony in the short period of less than twenty years. I have already given figures showing the tremendous advance in education over the same period, which is of particular significance when it is realised that those figures are ninety per cent. Arab, as most of the children of the minority communities attend schools which are under unofficial control although they receive very substantial annual subsidies from the Aden Government.

000 The stage is set and the prologue is spoken by Sir Muhammed Mackawwi—he was knighted in 1949 for his great public service to his country—one Saturday evening in August 1951, as he and I were sitting on the roof of his garden house at Sheikh Othman. We had dined together and were drinking our coffee and enjoying the cool night breeze after the humid heat of a rather still day for that time of the year. Suddenly he startled me by saying:

"I am not sure that we are ready for democracy in Aden, not, that is, for democratic Government, and yet in some ways we Arabs are more democratic, truly democratic, than are you British."

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



"Again I agree with you," I said, "but the Press is not easy to restrain, and control would cause an uproar and questions in the House of Commons."

"My friend, we are not in London. London and the United Kingdom are quite different from Aden and Arabia. Some of your Members of Parliament are very ignorant about conditions in the Colonies. They should be taught. Your country has reached its present stage of development after a thousand years and for most of that time your Press, when there was one, was controlled and not allowed to mislead the people. We are changing much more rapidly than you did and are trying to do in months what has taken you centuries. I say that you must not allow the newspapers to mislead the people. It's dangerous and your Parliament must be made to understand."

The old gentleman spoke with much feeling, but I am afraid little understanding of conditions in the United Kingdom. Our Saturday evening *tête-à-tête* parties became a custom.

I learnt much from my wise old friend.

Some ten years before this particular conversation, I was in Riyadh on a visit from Kuwait to His Majesty King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the great Ibn Saud. I was accorded a private audience and found myself alone with the great man, who once he was satisfied that I was not the bearer of some tiresome message from my Government relaxed and talked of Arabia and the Arabs. He asked me if I knew how to deal with Arabs, and I said I knew a little about the matter but that I should be very grateful for his advice. I got it for half an hour and every time I allowed my eyes to stray from his face he tapped me on the knee and said: "Listen."

I listened and learnt. Briefly the advice amounted to this; be strong, when you are strong then you can be just and when your strength is overwhelming you can afford to be generous, but first and foremost it is strength which is of paramount importance. Diplomacy should be used to undermine the enemy's strength. Ibn Saud was certainly a successful exponent of his own doctrine. It was wise advice which I was, in later years, to follow to the best of my ability.

The plan for the political development of the Colony was

800
632.178 • 66
207

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



632
178 to ensure ordered conditions in the Colony by a firm Govern-
666 ment policy while political changes were taking place, and at first to concentrate on the municipal field as a training ground for young men who were sufficiently public spirited to want to play their part in public affairs. The practice was introduced of nominating younger men to the Township Authorities, and in March 1953 the constitution of the Aden Township Authority was changed to allow for three of the members to be elected from the Township area and from April 1st of that year it was restored to the status of a municipality. Thus Aden came to have its first elections.

665 Careful thought was given to the qualifications of both
666 candidates and electors. There were plenty of people in the Colony who could qualify as candidates, but it was essential to encourage really good men to come forward, and this was done, with the result that the elections were a success from every point of view. They were well conducted and orderly, and resulted in three good men, all Arabs, being returned. Two years later the number of elected members was doubled.

641 A word about the electorate. It was essential in a place as politically immature as Aden that the franchise, while being reasonably wide, should not be too wide and certainly not universal. Only a small proportion of the population had ever voted before and they were all from overseas, either the United Kingdom or India. There were many Yemenis in the town, many of whom had a residential qualification, but comparatively few of whom were other than unskilled labourers, with no idea of the value of a vote and little real interest in Aden other than as a temporary home in which to make sufficient money to support their families in the Yemen. Property or income qualification was, therefore, insisted upon before a name could be inscribed on the electoral roll and in addition, residential qualifications for electors who were not Aden born.

Nothing would have been more ill-advised than to have given the ultimate power to people quite unfit to exercise it, who were easily swayed by political demagogues capable of passionate but irresponsible speech. The electoral net, therefore,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1
Yemen MLI

*From the "Upper Circle" 1958*

locally in increasing the prestige of the Imam. As a threat to anyone they are not worthy of consideration and should prove an easy target for aircraft should the need to obliterate them ever arise. Perim is no longer of any military importance and has not been garrisoned since 1928 and has had no commercial importance since Lambert Brothers or the Perim Coal Company closed down some twenty years ago. The only claim to be of use that the island can make is that it is the site of two essential lighthouses, and even in this respect it is a nuisance as the presence of the lighthouses necessitates the maintenance on the island of a detachment of Armed Police. As there is no water on the island a condenser has to be manned and maintained to provide the lighthouse crews and the police with drinking water. Altogether Perim has become rather more of a liability than an asset.

I think it most unlikely that there ever has been any intention of the Yemen or Egypt to construct a submarine base at the southern end of the Red Sea. It would be most uncomfortable in the summer, within easy range of aircraft from Aden and altogether rather pointless. Submarines will probably visit Hodeidah if they have Commanders sufficiently skilful and intrepid to navigate through the reefs which surround that place. and they may call at Mocha farther south, but I see no menace to anyone in this and can only hope that Russian and Chinese gold and dollars will be wasted on so fruitless an enterprise.

The highlights of this otherwise rather gloomy picture are the loyalty of the Protectorate Forces and the renewed interest of the Protectorate States in the Federation plan. The Aden Protectorate Levies and the Government Guards consist, as we know, entirely of Arabs from the Protectorate States with British and Arab officers; in the Government Guards of equal status in the higher ranks. Their bravery and devotion to duty under continuous and almost intolerable strain has been outstanding, and they have won the admiration and respect of everyone by their work for their country in whose defence they have always been ready to lay down their lives.

Under the continued spur of Yemen aggression and subversion the States of the Protectorate seem at last to have realised

Y 712
A 712
A 502
000
A 701 703
A 642 178

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



642
178 the weakness of their position so long as they remain isolated the one from the other by jealousy and personal pride with the result that the States of Beihan, the Audhali, Dhala, the Fadli and the central State of Dathina have all intimated their desire to federate together, and discussions are in progress with the Colonial Office and the Governor on the practical implementation of their decision. The Aulaki Sheikh, also, from whose territory so many of the Levies and Guards are recruited, has signified his readiness to join a federation, and I am sure that other States will follow the lead which has been given them and hope that before this year is ended the Protectorate will have taken a major step forward.

672
673 Internally the Protectorate has not been free from disturbance. In Lower Yafa Sultan Muhammed allowed himself to be swayed by Egyptian propaganda and deserted his charge, the lowland reaches of his State embracing the northern half of the rich cotton yielding Abiyan plain. He fled to the Yafa highlands and on into Yemen, taking with him the Lower Yafa Tribal Guards, which were of no moment, and the contents of his father's, the Sultan's Treasury amounting to £10,000 which did matter. The Assistant Adviser on the spot, who was himself an Arab, acted promptly and vigorously and the void left by the Tribal Guards was filled rapidly by Government Guards from Aden. There were no disturbances of any moment and the situation was never out of control. Sultan Mohd's defection was deplorable but understandable for he was ever a wayward and foolish fellow and his country is no worse for his absence.

687
669 Over to the West in the Sultanate of Lahej a very unhappy position has arisen. It is nothing to do with the State's frontier with the Yemen which was at one time a continuous worry but recently has been unusually peaceful. The Sultan who was the first to approve federation in principle and the most difficult to deal with in the discussions which followed the 1954 meeting at Government House, in April of this year, left his State, presumably in protest at the arrest by the Governor's order of his Minister for Education, Abdullah bin Ali, one of the Jifri Saiyid. The order for arrest, which was on a charge of

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1



579 political party, as such, in the Colony had any hand in these outrages which, if continued, will have disastrous consequences for every single individual in Aden.

646 668 In the legislative field there have been two important developments since I left Aden. The first of these has been in the Municipal Committee where, at the recent elections, the electorate returned fourteen elected Members to the Committee. Of these seven are so-called Nationalists, which would seem to be a clear indication that Nationalism is spreading and gaining ground rapidly. This may be correct, but on the other hand I have found in Aden and elsewhere in the world that extremists do not always remain extreme once they have obtained their object which in this case was membership of the Municipal Committee. There are signs that already something of the sort is happening, and provided that the situation is handled firmly but with understanding, there would not seem to be cause for alarm. The moderates are, by and large, rational people and on them must rest the responsibility for restraining their less experienced associates. Let them take their own line in the future as they have in the past and not allow themselves to be influenced unduly by public opinion.

642 646 178 The second and more important development is the fulfilment of the undertaking given by Lord Lloyd in 1956. The proposals for a major change in the Constitution were published on November 11th, 1957, as a Gazette Extraordinary. The proposals provide for a fundamental change in the structures of both the Executive and Legislative Councils. The precise date of implementation has not yet been published, but it would be safe to assume that provided there is no startling and unexpected reaction to the proposals, they will come into effect at the end of this year when the life of the present Legislative Council is due to expire. The reconstruction of the Legislative Council will result in the Unofficial elected Members of the Council having a majority for the first time. There are to be twelve such elected members representing single member constituencies in the Colony, five *ex-officio* members who will be the Air Officer Commanding, the Chief Secretary,

*From the "Upper Circle" 1958*

642
646
178•

the Attorney General, the Financial Secretary and one other Government official and six members to be nominated by the Governor in his absolute discretion. The Governor will no longer preside over the Council, his place being taken, as is only appropriate, by a Speaker.

641
666
642

The qualifications for electors and for candidates for election are to remain unchanged. This means that there will be no extension of the franchise and no relaxation of the rule which requires a candidate to be Aden born, or if not Aden born, to be a British subject or a British Protected person who has resided in the Colony for seven out of the last ten years. A very wise decision. Nothing could have been more foolhardy than to have extended the franchise at the present time beyond its already wide limits. To allow foreign subjects to be elected as Members of a Legislative Council would be unconstitutional in any country.

647
642

With the grant of an unofficial elected majority it is proposed to appoint five Unofficial Members of whom three must be elected Members to take charge of the Departments of Education, Public Works, Communications, Labour and Social Welfare and the Health Department. They will be known as Members-in-Charge and will be responsible for their respective Departments. Early in 1956 I introduced the practice of associating individual Unofficial Members with Departments of Government with the object of preparing them for just this sort of development. The result is that the present Unofficial Members have gained valuable experience and one can only hope that the electorate, always a trifle capricious even in England, will have the good sense to return at least some of them to the Council at the next election where their experience will be of benefit to the Colony.

642
643

The new Constitution will, of course, provide that the Governor shall exercise reserve executive and legislative powers. This is a normal procedure and essential, particularly in a politically juvenile Colony such as is Aden which has had a Legislative Council for only eleven years.

642
645

The contemplated change in the composition of the Executive Council is as sweeping as that in the Legislative Council.